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are six letters to General Vivés, the new Spanish minister. Three of these have been printed in *American State Papers*. The *Memoirs* give a running account of the controversy over the ratification of the Spanish treaty. On May 18, 1820, Adams records that he drafted a note which, with the omission of a paragraph that the President thought too strong, was sent to Vivés. Adams describes only the general tenor of the note. It is printed for the first time in this collection. In itself this document is of no great importance, but as a link in the chain of events, it fills an important place. The real service rendered by the editor, in short, can be appreciated only by the reader who has the *Memoirs* at his elbow.

This seventh volume touches on a great variety of subjects, ranging from the arbitration of the claims of slave-owners for property carried away by British officers in the late war, and the interchange of proposals for the suppression of the African slave-trade, to the petty controversy of Adams with Jonathan Russell, and the jockeying of candidates for position in the presidential race of 1824.

The thoroughgoing quality of Adams's work as Secretary of State stands out in his instructions to Henry Middleton for the mission to Russia. It is hardly too much to say that no other contemporary American statesman could have written with so wide a vision of European affairs. Adams spent nearly a month drafting this set of detailed instructions. In some illuminating foot-notes, the editor recalls certain less admirable qualities which were only too likely to defeat the ends of diplomacy. Adams's colleagues in the cabinet were often obliged, as Crawford put it, to "soften the asperities" of the official notes of the State Department. The contentious tone of some of Adams's letters seems to be that of a man intent on scoring a dialectic victory over an opponent. In one of his moments of introspection, he wrote to Mrs. Adams: "I am certainly not intentionally repulsive in my manners and deportment, and in my public station I never made myself inaccessible to any human being. But I have no powers of fascination." But at this moment he was writing of himself as a possible candidate for the Presidency.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun. By WILLIAM M. MEIGS. In two volumes. (New York: Neale Publishing Company. 1917. Pp. 456, 478. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH Calhoun has been the most discussed of all Southerners since Thomas Jefferson and his career and conduct have most profoundly influenced the life of the growing nation, we have not till now a definitive biography. There have been excellent brief sketches like Gaillard Hunt's work or even von Holst's thoroughgoing condemnation, but no detailed and matured account of all the episodes and changes in a very changeful career.

Calhoun was not careful like many of the earlier and more English of our statesmen to preserve the materials for a biography of himself. His *Works*, edited by Richard K. Crallé and published in 1853-1855, the brief autobiography published anonymously as the *Life of John C. Calhoun* in 1843, and the *Writings of John C. Calhoun*, edited by J. F. Jameson and published by the American Historical Association in 1899, compose the principal sources upon which any biography must depend. But the *Works of Calhoun* consists of only the longer and more formal speeches and public letters; the autobiography gives few or none of those details that generally enter into that sort of narrative; and the Jameson edition of the *Writings* offers only a small part of the letters to and from Calhoun that must once have been in existence.

Mr. Meigs has made faithful use of this material; he has drawn upon the Congressional debates and the other official documents that shed light upon his subject. He has made extended and careful use of the newspaper and pamphlet material both in Columbia and in Charleston. Nor have other newspapers and periodicals of the time been overlooked. From the standpoint of thoroughness of research no recent American biography surpasses or, I believe, equals this one. The opinions and views of other students who offer conflicting estimates have been duly and fairly weighed and assessed.

The early period of Calhoun's life is treated with fullness and a good deal that is new has been brought to light. That oft-raised question whether statesmen get their ideals from their early environment or whether books and teachers determine later conduct is fairly answered in favor of the former in Calhoun's case. It was clearly the nationalism of Jefferson and the frontier, and not the teachings of Dr. Dwight or the Litchfield law school, that found expression in the democratic imperialist of 1811.

The difficult years of 1824 to 1832 Meigs treats with a wealth of detail unapproached by other students of Calhoun. The author is fully conscious of the distressing situation, the conflict of sectional purposes and personal ambition which underlay every move of those years. He shows that the summersault of Calhoun was fully matched by that of Webster. Calhoun expressed the gravity of the issue when he wrote in 1831 that all the great interests of the country were being brought into conflict. Perhaps some readers will be just a little disappointed, where so much that is good is offered, that the relations and understandings of Calhoun and Jackson in 1828-1829 are not made more explicit. It is not so much the personal here in question as it is the pact of South and West which must have premised the overthrow of Adams and Clay.

Of the later sad and disappointing years enough is said. There is no disposition to veil the political moves and intrigues into which ambition led the ardent old man. It is not all merely one long struggle for office, high office and prestige, but a long and painful fight for the

formation of a Southern *bloc*, with Virginia at its head, with which the writer has to deal. That the scheme was defeated by the dogged hostility of one obscure newspaper editor, Thomas Ritchie, only tends to show that "economic determinism" does not after all determine. Clay also regarded Ritchie as his nemesis, for it was the persistent refusal of Virginia to support him that did so much damage to the cause of the Kentuckian.

Mr. Meigs has done a good work. He has set forth the life of his hero—I think hero is not too strong a word—in a way which will render unnecessary another life of Calhoun for many years. It is however a biography and not a history. If it had been a history certain criticisms of the interpretation of the facts and forces of the time would be in order—the problem of slavery which Meigs tends to defend, the meaning of nationalism which he does not seem wholly to grasp. But, as I have said, the biographer has not usurped the place of the historian and for that as for this book we ought to be grateful.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler during the Period of the Civil War. In five volumes. (Privately printed. [Mrs. Jessie Ames Marshall, 397 South Street, Jamaica Plain, Mass.] 1917. Pp. vii, 669; 629; 632; 625; 748. \$20.00.)

THE life of General Butler bristled with controversy. This compilation "by the members of the family" must naturally, therefore, meet the suspicion that it is doctored. The rules of editing stated in the preface have a satisfactory completeness, setting forth that all, except formal, letters have been given, and entire, except for excisions to avoid repetition. It seems probable, moreover, that these rules actually guided the editors. It is, indeed, apparent from what is printed, that not all Butler's letters are included (V. 10, etc.). This does not, however, necessarily mean suppression. General Butler used a letter-book, from which probably most of the letters are taken, but he did not use it for all his correspondence. In some such cases, as in his correspondence with his wife, the letters are given from the originals, but many series of such originals may be lacking. One receives the impression that the editors give all that was available to them.

So pat, however, is the evidence at times, that one is tempted to believe that what they had was a *dossier* prepared by Butler himself. *In toto* this could not have been the case, for material, like the Denison letters to Chase, is here included which could not have been accessible to Butler. Nevertheless in particular instances we doubtless have here the material he prepared for his own exculpation, or rather, enter into his spirit, for the confusion of his enemies. Butler at interesting moments, also, used the personal interview (V. 134), and his enemies have